Radio Address re the President's Inspection Trip
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
OCTOBER 12, 1942

My fellow Americans

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us
are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans *(don't)* and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.
With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent;
they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors;
they have aided and abetted those people in other nations --
even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from
Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda
is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense
is prevailing.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is
now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi
propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to
apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast
forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they
are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked
people to rally their weakened production. They even
publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be
fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of
Europe.
They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.
There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a glare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity.
And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make
a tour of the country without having to give a single thought
to politics.

I expect to make other trips for similar purposes,
and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but
until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not
thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I
saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion
was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months,
and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed
forces many times. We are by no means at full production
level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip,
where would we be today if the Government of the United States
had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge
increase more than two years ago -- more than a year before
war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.
We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man -- Edward F. Cheney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania -- who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery.
In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work -- management and labor alike -- on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.
I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were the men -- and not the women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines -- and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts -- I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

Of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.
The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.
The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the manpower problem.
The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.
Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are four thousand five hundred of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.
In another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people of his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well intended and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.
In a sense, every American, because of the privilege of his citizenship, is a part of the Selective Service.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.
Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.
I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

Good training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership, and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.
I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of bright ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the facts or problems of military operations.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the plans for this war to the military leaders.

The military and naval plans of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and
General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms, -- air, sea and land -- from their early years. As Commander-in-Chief I have at all times also been in substantial agreement.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed -- relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.
We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.
But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fight these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.

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[Signature]

Original reading copy
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This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.
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We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

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As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual (work) labor running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion of women will increase. Within less than a year from now, I think, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

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So having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines -- and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts -- I can say to
you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

And of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

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Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and by our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and
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And in another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations, (and) went out, gathering(ed) the fruit, and sent it to market.

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Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January,
there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea and land -- from their early years. As Commander-in-Chief I have at all times also been in substantial agreement.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed -- relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

We are celebrating today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we (fought) fight these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.
We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope and peace throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.

*****
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes, five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbreakable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They
have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense is prevailing.

The "War of Horror" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal doings is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are those millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics,
I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualised our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battles of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man — Edward F. Cheney of Lebanon, Pennsylvania — who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed.

There will be many more such acts of bravery.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle west, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work — management and labor alike — on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed — doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were the men — and not the women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting front — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.
Of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second, to nan our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.
Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are four thousand five hundred of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

In another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people of his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intentioned and well administered — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense, every American, because of the privilege of his citizenship, is a part of the Selective Service.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Board. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — men who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often thankless and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.
Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for selective service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

Good training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership, and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of bright ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the facts or problems of military operations.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the plans for this war to the military leaders.

The military and naval plans of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral King, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

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FIR\ST DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

Tonight I am not making any announcement of grave import -- this is literally a chat -- to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about in the past which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of a World War which, with every passing week, broadens in its scope, in its intensity.

That is true in the sphere of actual fighting, in the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts grows all the time. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans on sea and on land who are in actual contact with the enemy grows every day.

While you and I realize that this means more casualties, more wounds, more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, it means also that we have a deep satisfaction therein, for we realize that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are at least beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be when the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be.
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection at camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.
As I travelled through the country, a profound truth was again brought home to me. It was brought home far more forcibly, I think, because of the enormity of the war in which we are now engaged.

The profound truth is this:
When the President of the United States needs a renewal of spirit for
training the leaders of his responsibilities — for making decisions
on which may depend the very lives of
our countrymen — he can obtain that
renewal of spirit by the

simple
means of going back to the people themselves.

The people are the source of this Government's authority. They are the source of this nation's strength.

The people are good. The people are
congenial. The people are right.
It is the people who are fighting this
war, in all parts of the world.

The people will win.

For interpreting and carrying
out the establish aims of all Americans.
FIRST DRAFT

We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war— in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early offensive. Germany and Japan are barely holding their own and the leaders know by now that they have reached their full strength and cannot increase that strength further.

Those of us who get reports from those two countries, and from Italy, are beginning to realize that one of the important reasons for their continuation of the conflict lies in the fact that their populations are forbidden to know the truth of what is going on.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been the scientific development of what they called "The War of Nerves". They have led other nations to believe that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet the walls of Jericho would fall down. They have spread terror; they have committed atrocities; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented hate; they have aided and abetted games of politics while the world outside their borders burned.
FIRST DRAFT

They have used their tricks— all of their tricks—
[all that is true of the German and Japanese efforts] within
our own American borders. I think you are aware of the names of American citizens who have always acted and still receive the applause of the Berlin newspapers. If you do not know those names you can readily guess them.

But of late this "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership shows signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize for the stoppage of the Nazi military and industrial production of munitions at Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that the tendency to lower output of munitions be stopped.

They are not making peace overtures, it is true. But we hear from a few of them suggestions that the world is tired of war and that some kind of peace could be worked out which would leave Germany and Japan with sufficient strength to build world domination on a generation hence.

They even assure their people that they will get enough to live on although it may mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.
They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.
FIRST DRAFT

Meanwhile, the atrocities continue under the direct policy and orders of the gangs of gangsters which control every human life of the civilians and the armies under them.

A few days ago, after consultation among the United Nations, it was decided that steps should be immediately taken by all of us to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the acts of inhumanity and savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the treatment of the civilian populations of those of the United Nations which have been overrun by these gangsters.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals en masse or anything approaching masse against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders must be discovered and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. And the rest of their populations can rest assured that when defeat comes to their leaders and victory comes to the United Nations, they will be treated like decent human beings as the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.
not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, Nazi.
I wish I could rub an Aladdin's Lamp and translate myself into any large city of Germany in the guise of a German working man. I wish it were possible for me to obtain a first hand impression of what they are doing and saying and thinking about. I have a notion of what I would find -- and I would like to compare it to what I have seen on a recent trip which I took within our own country.

It is very simple to say that the Commander-in-Chief of the American armed forces, as some newspapers have said, should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what this, that, and the other munition plants have all been turning out from week to week or month to month. It is very easy to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander-in-Chief should go through the country with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander-in-Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone -- that human beings enter into it -- that planning involving human activities and war plans depend upon appreciation of the human element. That we are training millions of Americans -- men and women -- several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine
It may well be said that our first concern is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression.

This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to see that sentiment at first hand on my recent trip.
Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort.

It is essential

[One of the needs is] that the Commander-in-Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a Soldier, or a sailor -- and having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added 40% to my own efficiency over any (trip) methods which I have used for inspection or for politics (in previous trips).

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not visualized the American war effort. [And remember] only what I saw is but a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive.

In one sense it was a hurried trip out through The Middle West, to the North West, [The north to Seattle] down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was an unhurried trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, to avoid the responsibilities of publicity, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking -- thinking out comparative
Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? How do they feel about things in general? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

And— I might add— it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.
needs -- the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into
the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied
me, one fact impressed me greatly. That was not just the large
number of women who were employed in actual manufacture --
not just women doing office work, but principally the women who
tackling machines. And when I speak of the large number of
women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. In many
of these plants. As time goes on, I am told that the proportion
is bound to increase so that, for example, in the manufacture
of combatant airplanes most plants will employ 50% of women in
less than a year from now as men working in airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a
necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our
younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is
becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war
machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater
strength of the Army and Navy and of the civilian structure at
home. Incidentally, the efficiency of the women workers is wholly
satisfactory. I will not say that I learned a lesson, but I
received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants not only I but the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is undoubtedly a fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days -- and the crop was fully harvested. In another community fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and women in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.
In still another place -- a dairy community -- where almost every high school child knew how to milk or run a tractor -- the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

The manpower (including woman power) problem, is by no means solved. We have not yet adopted a rounded policy in regard to it. That is one of the tasks that lies before us. I have no doubt that it will be solved and that the American people will accept the solution as patriotically and wholeheartedly as they have accepted the solution of a number of other problems in the past two or three years. Today there are many square pegs trying to fit into round holes, and while perfection can never be attained, it must be our objective to use our population in the tasks for which the individual man and individual woman are best fit into. And when I say "our population", I mean that every single one of us has a part to play in the war.
I am pleased to see that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the National Commission, are working on plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help the farmers.
Dance and Harvest their crops each
summer for the duration. This is a
District service to the nation,
and a patriotic duty that
will be saving
American blood do no
harm whatsoever to the
Students themselves.
This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law. The carrying out of that law began with the first regiment on October 16th, 1940.
During the past two years, we have built the greatest Army this Nation has ever known.

On Friday of this week, October 16, will be the Second Anniversary of the first Selective Service Registration.

That Registration was probably the greatest single effort this country has been called upon to make.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

Created originally to select less than a million young men each year for 12 months of military training, the Selective Service System must now select millions of men each year for active combat service.

Fifteen months of peace-time operation before Pearl Harbor prepared the Selective Service System for the important task ahead.

The Selective Service System had a trained and experienced organisation that extended into every community in the country, and numbered more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom were patriotic volunteer workers.

The advent of war did not bring any change in the basic principle upon which the Selective Service plan had been based and its peace-time operations conducted.

That principle was and must always be that Selective Service will provide the armed forces with the number and kind of men they require, at the time and place they are needed, with a minimum of disturbance to the social, agricultural, commercial and industrial life of the Nation.
The obligation to serve is universal and knows no social, political or other arbitrary consideration.

The order of call is determined by chance.

Selection for service is based on "fitness for service" and "availability for service" after consideration of the relative value to the Nation of the civilian versus the military service of the individual.

The principle of deferring men because of "unfitness for service", "civilian service in the national interest" and "to avoid hardship to their dependents" is fundamental and continues in war as it did in peace.

Only the application of the principle has changed.

As the need for men and the size of the Army has increased, the physical standards have been lowered because there are increased opportunities for service by men who are not fit for full combat duty.

As the need for men has increased, Selective Service has become increasingly strict in the classification of men for occupational reasons and has judged requests for deferment on a basis of comparative contribution to the total war effort.

As the need for men has increased, Selective Service has become increasingly strict in the classification of men for dependency reasons and has become more and more curious and concerned about the kind and amount of dependency involved in each individual case.

In all of this process of selecting the men who will serve in the armed forces and selecting the men who will stay at home to continue in their civilian occupations, the local boards comprised of patriotic
volunteer workers from the individual community, have the first
jurisdiction and make the decision regarding their neighbors who
are registered in the local board.

Here is democracy in action!

We are building a democratic Army for the preservation of
democracy in a truly democratic manner.

To the more than 200,000 patriotic citizens who serve without
compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory
boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal
agents, the Nation owes a debt of gratitude. The successful operation
of the induction service

There is a difficult task - an important task.

Particularly is this true of the service rendered by the members
of the local boards.

They must sit in judgment on their neighbors and make the diffi-
cult decision as to where each man registered will best serve in our
total war effort.

For the unselfish service they render - for the long hours they
labor - for the criticism they must endure, may I express the Nation's
gratitude.
Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance. You have heard of certain German regiments called "shock troops." That means only regiments of young, strong men who have had long training. By implication, other regiments of Germans are not shock troops, and that means that they are composed of older men or less well trained men who are unable for long to stand the pace of modern fighting.

I want to make every American regiment that goes overseas into a shock troop division. I want them all to have adequate endurance and thorough training. If we can do that, it means that the war will be over in our favor so much the sooner.

As our Army grows in size, and as another hundred thousand men go overseas at relatively frequent intervals, we shall need a larger number of young men in the front lines. I suppose that people realize throughout the country that a division of 15,000 men that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting division than another one
FIRST DRAFT

which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two.

That is why it is [going to be] necessary [very soon] to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know [the inevitability of it and the importance of it] to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen [hoping that the war may end before their boys are called]. I have an [understanding of that feeling, and so has my wife.]

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the finest training we know how to give them. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

There is one little episode that makes me think that a trip by the Commander-in-Chief may have some value. At one of the Naval Training Stations which I visited, I found that only 60% of the boys who go into active service from that Training Station are thoroughly able to swim. In these days
The White House
Washington

You can rest assured that your boys are in training care being well-fed and well-housed, and that their health is being scrupulously watched.

And their religious activities are carefully supervised by competent trained clergymen drawn from every faith and denomination.
of sinkings that seemed to me too low a proportion and, as a result, orders have gone out that the percentage of swimmers must be greatly increased.
While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh -- action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation is glad, that the Congress acted so promptly. In accordance with the Act, I put the machinery of the administration of the Act into effect twelve hours after I signed the bill. Every effort is now being made to keep the cost of living for every farmer and every worker and every housewife within reasonable bounds.

It is a tremendous task, of course, because it covers all we eat and all we wear and all the rents we pay in tens of thousands of communities throughout the Nation. The administration of the Act calls for real cooperation on the part of every farmer, labourer, planter, shopkeeper, and the consuming public.

[I want to bring out one result] if we are able to keep the cost of the necessities of life [within reasonable bounds] it will mean that [after this war is over] the actual cost of [it -- This war -- the debt of the Nation -- will be far lower than if the cost of fixing everything had got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean, for example, that if the cost of a bombing plane is today [around] half a million dollars, the cost of a new bombing plane [turned out] a year from now, will still be at about that level instead of [at a higher level which might]
cause the Government to pay three-quarters of a million dollars for the same plane.

Then, too, the war bonds which this country has so magnificently invested in will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If the cost of living had gone up 50% during the course of the war, it would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the war and if it remained at a high artificial level, war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so keen to stabilize things as of today.

As far as the totals of production go the figures last January were set out on what might be called a schedule — such an amount toward the goal in the case of each and every article — a constantly increasing schedule which we purposely set very high and hoped to produce as nearly up to the schedule as possible.

Using the word production in its broad sense — production of things of all kinds that are necessary to the war effort — my trip convinced me that we are approximately 94 or 95% up to the schedule laid down many months ago. Considering the fact that we have been in this war for only ten months, I think that
most people will agree that this is a good effort and that we have reason to feel that we are making good progress.

When I say 94 or 95%, I mean the average of all the different elements that enter into war production. These elements include, of course, not only articles for the production of which responsibility rests on the War Production Board and on the Army and Navy. It is true that the percentage in these articles is not as high as the average and that it is a little below 90%. On the other hand, there are many other articles like ships and things that are being sent under the Lend Lease to our Allies where the production is above 94 or 95% -- and that of course includes many foodstuffs which are being sent to other nations to keep them going in their war effort. For their war efforts ties in directly with our war effort and here again their military and naval operations are closely tied in with ours.

I may truthfully say, in spite of the ignorance of many who rush into print, that there is substantial unity of command on the part of the United Nations and that all of them are striving toward a common end.
When you read your papers, remember always that your Government adheres strictly to the old American policy of freedom of the press. That for any reasonable human being means freedom of the press to print facts -- news that is based on fact -- and in addition to that, freedom to criticize on the basis of fact. That is and always will be an essential of our civilization.

Most Americans will agree with me, however, that freedom of the press does not carry with it the right to state as facts things which are not facts or to criticize on the basis of things which are not fact.

For example, you read and hear commentators -- nearly all of them civilians and all of them without exception in the position of not knowing a thousand and one things which, of necessity, have to be military secrets.

Because they labor under the great disadvantage of having to comment every day or two, they are compelled to write about matters of which they have the most superficial knowledge.

They do the best they can, but we are passing through a phase -- a fad of the day which is understood to be a phase or a fad by most readers and most listeners.
A statement is made as a statement of fact. It is based on a rumor or it is based on the opinion of somebody far down the line who has either poor judgment or a willingness to start a rumor in regard to something whereof he knows not.

The misstatement is perhaps reprinted and then there comes to my office in Washington and to other offices a series of letters protesting against or asking an explanation of something they have heard or read which does not happen to be true.

I think most of the American people understand that a very large percentage of what is given out as fact by commentators is really not factual truth but some people are very much disturbed by what they say.

You have heard for instance solemn assertions that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain are responsible for all of the major strategical military decisions of the war; and some say we are responsible for most of the minor military decisions of the war.

At the risk of seeming to make a mountain out of what is really a molehill, it is fair to tell the American people that the military and naval decisions of the United Nations
are discussed in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day. Certain members of this Joint Staff also meet each day with a body known as the Combined Staffs. All of them work in the same building. This Combined Staff has on it representa-
tives of the British Joint Staff and also meets with representa-
tives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.

This Combined Staff is paralleled by and is in almost hourly touch with a similar Combined Staff in London made up of the same elements. It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of war from their earliest years.

The Prime Minister and the President have at all times been in substantial agreement with the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.
The decisions of the Combined Staffs come, of course, to the Prime Minister as head of the War Cabinet and to me as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army and Navy, but as I have said before, we have happily found ourselves in substantial accord from the day we entered the war.

For the sake of efficiency, of course, Russia and China do not take part in decisions on operations outside of their own theatres of war. We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully. I can say, however, that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. We deeply wish it were possible for us as a matter of practical physical transportation to double and redouble this aid. We are confident that in the near future it will begin to be substantially increased.

In the same way, it is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russia and to China to divert from the forces attacking them to theatres of war outside their borders through the conduct of new offensives against Germany & Japan. That incidentally is an added reason for Germany and Japan to worry.
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories which took me as far as the Pacific Coast.

As I travelled through the country, a profound truth — which I have learned on all such trips — was again brought home to me. It was brought home far more forcibly than ever before, because of the enormity of the war in which we are now engaged.

The profound truth is this:

When the President of the United States needs a renewal of spirit for bearing the burdens of his responsibilities — for making decisions on which may depend the very lives of our countrymen — for interpreting and carrying out the united will of all Americans — he can obtain this renewal of spirit by the simple means of going back to the people themselves.

The people are the source of this Government’s authority. They are the source of this nation’s strength.

The people are good. The people are courageous. The people are right.
The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly new. It is the clear, conscious desire on the part of the people to do a job and do it well. This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming an army. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the earth or in the Pacific, and some are on the firing line in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or Montana. Some of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, and some of us know that our names will never be inscribed on any roll of honor.

But whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — none all in it — and whatever our spirit is now — and we must ask are we going to win.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbreakable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they are unable to make the trip, over here. That is why we are carrying our own effort to their attention over to them.
It is the people who are fighting this war, in all parts of the world.

The people will win.  

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this War. With every passing week the war increases in scale and intensity. The sphere of actual fighting, as the actual number of men engaged on both sides of the struggle on the many fronts, grows all the time.

That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands.

I am glad also to tell you that the number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day.

While you and I realise that this means more boys from every community on our fighting fronts, more casualties, more wounded, it means also that the effective use of American manpower is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already beginning to realize what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the full force of the United States hits them wherever they may be — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select as most favorable for attack.
We of the United Nations are on the up-grade in this war — in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength and they cannot increase that strength.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been what is called "The War of Nerves". At times they have been able to create the belief that if they stepped forth and blew a trumpet, the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down. They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who continued to play games of petty politics while the world outside their borders burned.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia, in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the enemy's propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations has begun to act like a boomerang. For the first time the Hitlerite leadership and Nazi propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive. They are beginning to explain to their own people. They are beginning to apologize to their own people for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. Forces at Stalingrad. They are beginning to plead with tears that their falling production of munitions be rallied. They even assure their people that they will get enough to eat even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.
They are proclaiming[To the German people] that a Second Front is an obvious impossibility while, at the same time, they are rushing[All division] troops thicker and thicker and digging ditches and stringing[Barbed] wire all the way from the Arctic Seas north of Finland and Norway[All the way down] to the shores and islands of the Shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.
SECOND DRAFT

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, Nazi atrocities continue and increase under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago, the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery, not only in the conduct of war itself, but in the unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As the deeds which sane people regard as criminal are being committed, they are being investigated and the evidence tabulated for the future purpose of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no reprisals in mass or anything approaching mass against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. We have made it entirely clear that the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders have deliberately created. Do Rightly Devote

We may well be said that our basic and aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression — and justice for the victims of aggression.

This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people. I am glad that I have had the opportunity to see that sentiment at first hand on my recent trip.
When we speak of justice -- of equity -- of freedom and
decency -- we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing
the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this
war and in the peace which is to follow.

Such action, based on good faith, is now being taken in
conjunction with China and Great Britain. We and the British are
fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish extra-
territorial rights in China. This action must surely stand as an
earnest of the integrity of our -- an earnest that will not
be lost on all the peoples of the world who
have put in the struggle of independence
and know how to run them.

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It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to month. It is very easy to say, as some other newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But as Commander in Chief I had not forgotten that this war is not being conducted by machines alone — that human beings enter into it — and that all war plans depend upon appreciation of the human element.

We are training millions of Americans — men and women — several millions in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and more millions in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? how do they feel about things in general? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

It is essential that the Commander in Chief apply certain simple rules of efficiency just as much as an Admiral, or a General, or a Private, or an Seaman. Having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the way I took this trip added to my own efficiency over any methods which I have used on previous trips, for inspection or for politics. And — I might add — it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly visualised our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all
the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive.

In one sense it was a hurried trip out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, to avoid the responsibilities incidentally, to do a lot of thinking—thinking out comparative needs—the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture—not just women doing office work, but women doing skilled work—running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

I have realized the shortage of manpower. It is becoming a part of the problem not so much of the existing war machine, but of the growth of that war machine to a far greater strength at home and overseas. The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity—inquisitiveness—is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed
I saw the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with the men and women who are making the guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers—engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds—millions of them form the army of production. The men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines—all their labor goes to the vast army of production. In a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is moving into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.
is that the United States has been at war for only ten months and
is engaged in the enormous task of doubling its Navy and multiplying
its Army five-fold. We are by no means at full production level
yet, but I asked myself on the trip where we would be today if
the Government of the United States had not begun to build factories
for this huge increase a year and a half and two years ago. Not
many months before Pearl Harbor. And in spite of our side of the
own armament problem, we have managed through all these months to send munitions
and supplies of all kinds to every part of the world -- Russia,
China, and the British Empire and the flow of this assistance mounts
week by week.
The other factor in the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. [submarines] and, in all human probability, these losses will continue. But, on the other side of the picture, the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we see the light, and the fear of the past is changing into the definite expectation of growing armies and growing munitions and growing supplies for the side of all the United Nations in all the theatres of war.
to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.

On this question of manpower, I heard of course much about perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem as the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days — and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market.

In still another place — a dairy community — where almost every high school child knew how to milk or run a tractor — the herds were kept going by a community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. This is a distinct service to the nation. It also will do no harm whatever to the students themselves.

The manpower (including woman power) problem is by no means solved. We have not yet adopted a rounded policy in regard to it. That is a task which is directly before us. I have no doubt that it will be solved and that the American people will accept the decisions, however
We have accomplished in a few months what our enemies required years to attain — the conversion of the greater part of our industrial establishment to the production of war materials. And we have done this while creating the greatest Army and Navy and Air Force in our history.

To bring this about, we have had to add about nine million workers to the total labor force of the Nation.

Where did these additional workers come from?

Most of them came from the ranks of the unemployed — about 6 million. Another million and a half represented the normal growth of the labor force while the rest came as the result of intensified recruiting efforts of the Manpower Commission during the spring and summer months.

During the next 15 months, we must somehow find 10 million more workers to make the guns and tanks and planes that will be necessary to supply our own armed forces and those of our Allies.

With a population of a hundred and thirty million people, if properly mobilized and utilized, a labor force of half that number is not out of the question.

And that brings me to the heart of our manpower troubles.

It is not that we do not have enough people to do the job.

The problem is to have the right people in the right places in the right numbers at the right time.

It is first a community problem. The national problem is a network of community problems. No two towns are quite alike. Everywhere there is a shortage of some skills. But in some places — such as New York City — there are still unemployed. In some areas there are shortages which are already acute. In others total manpower shortage is on its way.
he have to face these facts—realistically, without fear or favor. It is no easy task for us to comprehend an emergency so great that it strains our supply of manpower to the utmost.

We have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people.

It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them.

But we are learning to ration materials and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

1. To select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies.

2. To man our war industries with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions for our own forces and those of our fighting Allies.

3. To prevent workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of mere personal choice.

4. To prevent employers from unfair competition for labor—skilled or unskilled.

5. To use women, and boys under 18, wherever possible to replace men of military age.

6. To move labor from all non-essential activities to jobs involved in the war effort.

7. To train untrained personnel for essential war work.

Of course, in all our computations of manpower and all our efforts to allocate it to the best advantage, we must fit it in with all the needs and all the resources of all the United Nations. We must figure on the amount of production required from us by all our allies, on the available shipping facilities with which to transport overseas not only our troops but the continuous supply of equipment for them and for all the United Nations on all the fighting fronts.
Even the local editor, his reporter and his printer joined the gang in the orchard.
I want every farmer in the land to realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as a whole as essential to our best effort and to the best effort of the countries which are fighting side by side with us. We expect him to keep his production up and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor but, at the same time, we look for him and the people in his community to use ingenuity and cooperative effort toward the turning out of crops, and live stock and dairy products.
There are many things that we can do and do immediately to help solve the manpower problem.

People should work as near their homes as possible. Employers must exhaust the local labor supply before looking elsewhere for workers. This Government cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where a single worker is available to perform the job. It just doesn't make sense for an employer to go a thousand miles to pirate workers from another plant when there are unemployed workers in his own community looking for work.

Traditions, practices and prejudices which interfere with this principle must be abandoned.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or skill.

These conditions cannot continue to restrict the utilization of the nation's manpower.

We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices and caprices. It is a part of the logic of history that we must abandon some of our own intolerance and prejudice in order to win a war against these very evils.

Every patriotic citizen wants to do his part.

You may not always know whether you are doing essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which you could do better.

You naturally want to know the answers to these questions and you can get them, in almost every case, by going to the United States Employment Service office in your own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor is needed most and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them in the war effort.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort—however well intentioned and well coordinated—will not suffice to solve this problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. I do not lightly believe that we should shrink from that.
drastic they may be, as patriotically and wholeheartedly as they have
accepted other drastic decisions in the past two or three years. It
must be our objective to use our population in the tasks for which the
individual man and individual woman are best fitted -- irrespective of
the hardship. And when I say "our population", I mean that
one of us has a part to play in the war.

This, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted two
years ago in the Selective Service Law. The carrying out of that
began with the first registration on October 16, 1940.

On that day, 16,516,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36
were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million
volunteer workers.

The Selective Service System now has a trained and experienced
organization that extends into every community in the country, and
numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are
patriotic volunteer workers.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed
forces, the local boards have the first jurisdiction and make the
decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens who
are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal
boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as
government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render -- for
the long hours they labor -- for the criticism they must endure. The
successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has
been accepted by the great mass of our citizens serve to give us confi-
dence that we shall successfully solve the manpower problem.
In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is a member of Selective Service, whether it be by law or because of the privilege and duty we owe to our Nation. Even today, every man and woman who feels that he or she wishes deeply to give more useful service has the opportunity, through the U. S. Employment Service which has offices in every part of the land, to step forward and register for some job that best fits the individual case.
Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps I found men, recently inducted into the Army under the Selective Service law, who were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

All of our combat units must consist of shock troops. That means only regiments of young, strong men who have had training. I want them all to have adequate endurance and thorough training. If we can do that, it means the men of each shock troops in action in the field. The sooner the war will be over in one sense, the sooner the sooner we win, and the smaller the cost in casualties.

As our Army grows in size, and as another hundred thousand men go overseas at relatively frequent intervals, we shall need a larger number of young men in the front lines. A division of 15,000 men that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than another one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two.

That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. Most of us know how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best training and equipment we know how to give them. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.
THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of
inspection of camps and training stations and war factories, [which
took me as far as the Pacific Coast.]

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly
news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as
never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and
children is becoming an army. It is an army on the move. Some of
us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us
are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the continent
of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting
it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or
Montana. Some of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement,
but most
and some of us know that our names will never be inscribed in any
roll of honor.

But — whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities —
we’re all in it — and our spirit is good — and we and our allies are
going to win — and don’t let anybody tell you
anything different.
That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they are unable to make the trip over here. That is why we are carrying our war effort over to them.

Tonight I want to tell you of various matters which I have learned or thought about on that trip which I think will have some interest for you in connection with the prosecution of this War. With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in the South Pacific and up in the Aleutian Islands and on all the seas.

The number of Americans who are in actual contact with the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize that this means more casualties, it means also that the destructive force of American manpower and fighting equipment is beginning to be felt by our enemies. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result is going to be as soon as the real strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select as most favorable for attack.
The struggle of the United Nations on the up-grade in this war
in the use of manpower, in production, and in preparation for early
offensive. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already
reached their full strength and that their steadily mounting losses
in men and material can not be fully replaced.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past
has been what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread false-
hood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they
have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between
neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other nations who had
destroyed hearts the capacity for reason. [continued to play games of petty politics at home while the world
outside their borders burned.] At times they have been able to create
the belief that if they stopped forth and blew a trumpet, the walls
of Jericho would immediately fall down.

They have tried their tricks — all of their tricks — within
our own American borders. They have tried them in Britain, in Russia,
in China. But the common sense of the common people has defeated the
enemy’s propaganda.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is turning
into a boomerang. For the first time the [Hitlerite leadership and
the Nazi propaganda machine show signs of being on the defensive.
They are beginning to apologise to their own people for the stoppage of the Nazi infantry and artillery and tanks and air forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are begging their overworked people to rally their weakened production to plead tearfully that their failing production of munitions be rallied. They even promise their people that they will get enough to eat even though it will mean stealing food out of the mouths of everybody else in Europe.

Germany may require the starvation of all the rest of Europe, they are proclaiming that a Second Front is an obvious impossibility, whereas, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and digging ditches and stringing barbed wire all the way from the Arctic Se versus north of Finland and Norway, to the islands of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Black Sea.

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their own offensive, the Nazis continue and increase their atrocities under the direct orders of the gangs of gangsters who now control the continent of Europe.

A few days ago the United Nations decided to examine clearly into the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakably barbaric treatment of civilian populations. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being investigated and the evidence is being amassed to be served for the future purpose of justice.
THIRD DRAFT

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law. [We give assurance that when victory comes to the United Nations, the decent, duped people of Germany, Italy and Japan will not be victims of the vengeance which their leaders so richly deserve.]

Our aim is the enforcement of justice — justice upon the perpetrators of aggression, and justice for the victims of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of the people.

When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

In proof of our action, based on good faith, we are now taking in conjunction with China and Great Britain, and the British are fullfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China. This action must surely stand as an earnest of the

And thus to complete recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic.
integrity of our intentions — an earnest that will not be lost on all
the peoples of the world who have set up or who seek sovereignty and
independence and know how to run their own affairs.

We are training millions of Americans — men and women —

[several millions] in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and [more
millions] in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are
all a part of our war effort. Who are these millions upon whom the life
of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts
and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers
to these questions. He cannot learn them by sitting

[It is very simple to say, as some newspapers have said, that
the Commander in Chief of the American armed forces should sit in
Washington day after day and read statistical reports of what all
the munition plants are turning out from week to week and month to
That is why I made the trip I did.
month. It is very easy to say, as some [other] newspapers have said,
that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should
go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the
flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the
land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war,

I can tell you very simply that the way I took this [trip] added very
greatly to my own efficiency, [over any methods which I have used on
previous trips. And — I might add — it is a particular pleasure to
make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw
some of the new present day plants with my own eyes I had not thoroughly
visualized our American war effort. I saw only a small portion of all
the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative
and deeply impressive.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going
to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with the
men and women who are making the guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen
of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms
these and in mines — all form the vast army of production. Much of this army
is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our indus-
try is moving into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.

The United States has been at war for only ten months and is
engaged in the enormous task of doubling its Navy and multiplying its
Army five-fold. We are by no means at full production level yet, but I
asked myself on the trip where we would be today if the Government of the
United States had not begun to build factories for this huge increase a year
and a half and two years ago — not very many months before Pearl Harbor.
Third Draft

And in spite of the vast demands of our own armament problem, we have managed through all these months to send munitions and supplies of all kinds to every part of the world -- Russia, China, and the British Empire and the flow of this assistance mounts week by week.

We have also faced the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But on the other side of the picture, the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we see the light, and the fear of the past is changing into the definite expectation of growing armies and growing munitions and growing supplies for the side of all the United Nations in all the theatres of war.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, and, incidentally, to do a lot of thinking -- thinking out comparative needs -- the dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the preparation for war on a basis of first things first.
In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men have come forward and are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives constantly in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and all the United Nations forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Marine Distinguished Service Medal to a young man who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters after their ship had been torpedoed. There have been many acts of bravery by our merchant seamen, and there will be many more before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been completely destroyed.
As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large number of women employed in actual manufacture — not just women doing office work, but women doing skilled work running machines. And when I speak of the large number of women, I mean also the large proportion of women to men. As time goes on, this proportion is bound to increase so that, within less than a year from now, there will be as many women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing, but it is also a necessary thing because so many of our men and especially our younger men are going into the armed forces.

The efficiency of the women workers is wholly satisfactory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when my automobile drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop work were the men and not the women. The women seemed to keep their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of production, where the men often got into an argument as to whether it was really the President or not.
Having seen the quality of the work and the workers on our production lines - and coupling these first hand observations with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance on the fighting fronts -- I can say to you that we are winning the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management and American labor have achieved a miracle.

We have accomplished in a few months what our enemies required years to attain - the conversion of the greater part of our industrial establishment to the production of war materials. And we have done this while creating the greatest Army and Navy and Air Forces in our history.

To bring this about, we have had to add [about nine] million's of workers to the total labor force of the Nation.

Where did these additional workers come from?

Most of them came from the ranks of the unemployed - about 6 million. Another million and a half represented the normal growth of the labor force, while the rest came as the result of intensified recruiting efforts of the Manpower Commission during the spring and summer months.
THIRD DRAFT

During the next 15 months, we must somehow find two million
more workers to make the guns and tanks and planes that will be
necessary to supply our own armed forces and those of our Allies in the
months to come. There lies one of

With a population of a hundred and thirty million people,

if properly mobilized and utilized, a labor force of half that number

is not out of the question.

And that brings me to the heart of our manpower troubles.

It is not that we do not have enough people to do the job.

The problem is to have the right people in the right places

in the right numbers at the right time.

It is first a community problem. The national problem is

a network of community problems. No two towns are quite alike.

Everywhere there is a shortage of some skills. But in some places

such as New York City - there are still unemployed. In some areas

there are shortages which are already acute. In others total man-

power shortage is on its way.

We have to face these facts — realistically, without fear

or favor. It is no easy task for us to comprehend an emergency so

great that it strains our supply of manpower to the uttermost.
In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of
material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very
surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new
experience for us to have to ration them.

but we are learning to ration materials and must now
learn to ration manpower.

The objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

1. To select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency
   needed for our forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies.

2. To man our war industries with the workers, skilled and
   unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions for our own forces
   and those of our fighting Allies.

3. To prevent workers from moving from one war job to another
   as a matter of mere personal choice.

4. To prevent employers from unfair competition for labor --
   skilled or unskilled.

5. To use women, and boys under 18, wherever possible to
   replace men of military age.

6. To move labor from all non-essential activities to jobs
   involved in the war effort.
7. To train untrained personnel for essential war work.

Of course, in all our computations of manpower and all our efforts to allocate it to the best advantage, we must fit it in with all the needs and all the resources of all the United Nations.

We must figure on the amount of production required from us by all our allies and on the available shipping facilities with which to transport overseas not only our troops but the continuous supply of equipment for them and for all the United Nations on all the fighting fronts.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is a serious fact. Nevertheless, there were many hopeful signs. In one community an abundant crop was got in by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days, and the crop was fully harvested. In another community of fruit growers on the coast the usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available and when the fruit ripened the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the small town left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit and sent it to market. Even the local editor, his reporter and his printer joined the gang in the orchard.
THIRD DRAFT

In still another place -- a dairy community -- where almost every high school child knew how to milk a cow or run a tractor -- the herds were kept going by [a] community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food. American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products and textiles up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. This is a distinct service to the nation. It also will do no harm whatever to the students themselves.

I want every farmer in the land to realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation [as a whole] as essential to our best effort and to the best effort of the countries which are fighting side by side with us. We expect him to keep his production up and even to increase it. We will
use every effort to help him to get labor but, at the same time, we
look for him and the people in his community to use ingenuity and
cooperative effort to turn out crops, and live stock and dairy
products.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately
to help solve the manpower problem.

People should work as near their homes as possible. Employ-
ers must exhaust the local labor supply before looking elsewhere for
workers. This Government cannot afford to transport a single worker
into an area where a single worker is available to perform the job.
It just doesn't make sense for an employer to go a thousand miles to
pirate workers from another plant when there are unemployed workers
in his own community looking for work.

Traditions, practices and prejudices which interfere with
this principle must be abandoned.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In
others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a
certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or
skill.

We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices and
caprices. It is a part of the logic of history that we must abandon
some of our own intolerance and prejudice in order to win a war against
these very evils.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing
essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which
he could do better. 

One naturally wants to know the answers to these questions;
and you can get them, in almost every case, by going to the United
States Employment Service office in your own community. There are
4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner
grocery store of our manpower system. This network of employment of-
fices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor are
needed most and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them in the
war effort.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well
intentioned and well coordinated -- will not suffice to solve the problem.
In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation.
I do not believe that we would shrink from that.

But, after all, is not a new principle. It was adopted
two years ago in the Selective Service Law.
In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is a member of Selective Service, not by law but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week.

On that day, 16,316,908 men between the ages of 21 and 36 were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

The Selective Service System now has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed forces, the local boards have the first jurisdiction and make the decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens who are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render - for the long hours they labor - for the criticism they must endure. The
successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens serve to give us confidence that we shall successfully solve the manpower problem.

Another fact which I learned on my trip has a bearing on the same subject. In several camps where I visited combat divisions, I found men of around forty years of age. Although well qualified to perform important military service, they were obviously too old for active combat work as soldiers under fighting conditions which call for great strength and great endurance.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than another which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller the cost in casualties.

That is why it is necessary to lower the present twenty year lower limit down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.
I want also to say a word of praise for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense, and who are working hard at it. They are rendering valuable service to the Nation in their various specific assignments and in doing the neighborly things which make for real national unity and real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.
I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

And I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. It is training which in battle will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties among untrained or semi-trained forces.

In order to make the most effective use of manpower, and particularly young manpower, I am issuing instructions to all Federal civilian agencies immediately to release every young man suitable for war service. Here in Washington and in government offices throughout the United States are capable, able men who have been held at their desks by their superiors -- many against their own will -- under so-called certificates of indispensability. These certificates will be revoked, so that the local draft boards may exercise their own discretion in each individual case as they do in all other cases.

I hope that the Governors of the respective states will issue similar instructions for the agencies in their own states.
THIRD DRAFT

There are also in Washington and other cities of the country, many army and navy officers young enough for service in the field at home and abroad. Most of these men, I know, would prefer to be with troops or ships. I am asking the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to scrutinize most carefully the list of officers stationed in the various cities, who could be replaced by older men without substantial loss of efficiency, so that every younger officer can undertake field duty.

In the event of some unique training or qualifications, exceptions may be made to this general rule, but our objective must be to replace immediately all young civilians and officers with older men, or, where possible, with women.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned and well equipped, their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.
One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The [only] trouble with the armchair strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the real facts of the situation.

We therefore leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are arrived at in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in each country. In our case, it is in the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy in Washington which meets day by day. - Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. Americans can have full confidence in those men. They meet regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff composed of four officers whose offices here in Washington are in the same building with our own. They also meet with representatives of British Dominions, China, Russia, the Netherlands, Norway and other nations working in the common cause.
THIRD DRAFT

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It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations
was put into effect last January there has been a very substantial
agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profes-
sion of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. Mr.
Churchill and I have at all times been in substantial agreement
with the recommendations of the Combined Staffs of the United Nations.

We would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct
the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully.
I can say [however] that the other United Nations are giving both to
Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to
deliver to them. That assistance will be increased — enormously
increased — as our means of transportation are improved.

It is going to be indirectly of great assistance to Russia
and to China to divert the forces attacking them to theatres of war
[outside their borders] through the conduct of new offensives against
Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be
launched, or when, or where, can not be broadcast over the radio at
this time.

While I was away the Congress of the United States discussed
the problem which I had raised on September seventh — action to keep the
cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation
is glad that the Congress acted so promptly, I put the machinery
for administration of the Act into effect twelve hours after I signed
the bill. Every effort and every power of the government is now being
exercised to keep within reasonable bounds the cost of living for every
farmer and every worker and every housewife. The fulfillment of this
tremendous task calls for real cooperation on the part of everybody --
farmer, laborer, store-keeper, and the consuming public.

[If we are able to keep down the cost of the necessities of
life, it will mean that the actual cost of this war -- the war debt of
the Nation -- will be far lower than if the cost of everything had
got out of hand during the progress of the war. It will mean that
our war bonds will have very nearly the same purchasing power when they
are paid off some years hence as they have today when you buy them. If
the cost of living were to go up 50% during the course of the war, it
would be an extremely difficult thing to bring it down again after the
war and war bonds would have far less purchasing power when they are
paid off. Therefore, you will readily see why your Government was so
determined to stabilize things as of today.]

We should not be content merely with keeping the cost of
living from going up. Where possible we should try affirmatively to
reduce the level of the cost of living. One way in which that can be
done is by means of simplifying and standardizing production and
distribution. For example, there is absolutely no reason for so many
different models of shoes, so many styles and colors of skirts and
dresses, so many varieties of canned foods, bread, candy and all
the commodities of life. We have long been the most luxurious nation
in the world, with bigger and better frills than anywhere else. We
need not be during the war.

Standardized production will not only mean lower prices for
each article. It will require fewer men to produce the same quantity
of articles. It will release much needed manpower for other use —
industrial and military.

I have accordingly instructed that the necessary steps be
taken to simplify and standardize production of the articles of common
use which go into the cost of living. A limited time will be allowed
however for the disposal of existing stocks of supply. I am sure that
the result of this action will be to lower the price of all these
commodities.

For the sake of a sound future economy for the Nation, and in
order to prevent spiralling in the cost of living -- and to keep down
the post-war debt, it is very necessary that we pay in cash for as much
There is one way today, for example, in which every man woman and child can help production. That is by assisting in the various salvage drives for critical materials. There is one drive now in progress for metal scrap. Everybody knows what this scrap means in terms of weapons of offensive warfare for us. I urge every one of you to give every ounce of scrap you can find. I am directing all federal agencies and departments to participate in this drive, excepting those which ornaments and articles of all kinds unless they are definitely needed for protection or are of unique historical interest.
of the cost of this war as we can at the present time. That is why the Congress is now occupied with a very large and extremely important tax bill which is going to hit every pocketbook in America. As we look at the figures in this tax bill we should remember\[\text{however}\] that while we are trying to take in in cash about thirty billion dollars a year in taxes, the total income of the people of the United States has gone up in the past year from about seventy billion dollars to over one hundred billion dollars.

\[\text{(End to come)}\]
FOURTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of
inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly
news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as
never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 150,000,000 free men and women and
children is becoming one army. It is an army on the move. Some of
us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us
are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the continent
of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting
it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or
Montana. Some of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement,
but most of us know that our names will never be inscribed in any roll
of honor.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities --
we're all in it, and our spirit is good, and we and our allies are going
to win -- and don't let any one tell you anything different.
FOURTH DRAFT

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the

country -- unbreakable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and

Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they

would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable

to make the trip over here. That is why we are carrying our war

effort over to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and in-
tensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the

seas.

The number of Americans who are in actual contact with

the enemy on sea and on land grows every day. While you and I realize

that this means more casualties, it means also that the force of

American manpower and fighting equipment is being felt by our enemies.

Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result

will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at

whatever points on the earth’s surface we select for attack.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in

this war. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached

their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men

and material can not be fully replaced.
end and deeds are admixed from whose written and spoken
words have been compiled in Berlin and Tokyo as proof of
true chemistry.
FOURTH DRAFT

They are proclaiming that a second front is an obvious impossibility; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the Arctic Seas north of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi continue and increase their atrocities, under the direct orders of the gangsters who now control most of the continent of Europe.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakable acts of savagery in the treatment of civilian populations. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being investigated; and the evidence is being assembled for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.
FOURTH DRAFT

Our aim is the enforcement of justice for the victims of aggression, and punishment for the perpetrators of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy. This is the sentiment of our people.

When we speak of justice -- of equity -- of freedom and decency -- we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.

In proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritoriality in China, and thus to complete recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions -- an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world who have or who seek independence and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom and their ability to run their own affairs.

We are now training millions of Americans -- men and women -- in Training Stations, in camps of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and in the factories and in the services out of uniform which are all a part of our war effort.
Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends?

What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions.

He cannot learn them fully by sitting in Washington day after day, reading statistical reports. That is why I made the trip I did. It is very easy to say, as some newspapers have said, that when the Commander in Chief travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with the flashing of bulbs, and with interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took added very greatly to my own efficiency. And -- I might add -- it is a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive. I expected to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.
in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we can definitely expect growing armies and growing munitions and growing supplies all the United Nations in all the theatres of war.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men have come forward and are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Marine Distinguished Service Medal to a young man who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There have been many comparable acts of bravery by our merchant seamen, and there will be many more before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been completely destroyed.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the North West, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however,
it was a leisurely trip because I had time in each place to ask
the questions I wanted to ask, to learn things I did not know, and,
incidentally, to do a lot of thinking — thinking out comparative
needs. The dovetailing of all of the elements that go into the
preparation for war on a basis of first things first,

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied
me, I was impressed particularly by the large proportion of women
employed — not just doing office work, but doing skilled manual
work running machines. As time goes on, and so many of our men[go
into] the armed forces, this proportion is bound to increase, so that,
within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many
women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

This is not only a fine thing but it is also a necessary
thing because the efficiency of the women workers is wholly satis-
factory. I received a rather amusing and definite impression relating
to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is
stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the
members of my party noticed that when [my automobile] drove unannounced
down the middle of a great plant full of machines and machine
operators of both sexes, the first people to look up and stop
work were the men, and not the women. The women seemed to keep
their eyes on the ball and continue playing the game of
production, where the men often got into an argument as to
whether it was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers
on our production lines — and coupling these first hand ob-
servations with shipping figures and with the reports of actual
performance on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we
are ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management and
American labor have achieved in a few months what our enemies
achieved in their years of concentrated preparation for total war.
Required years to attain — the conversion of the greater part
of our industrial establishment to the production of war
materials. And we have done this at the same time as we have
been creating the greatest Army and Navy and Air Forces in our
history.
FOURTH DRAFT

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation.

Where did these additional workers come from? Most of them came from the ranks of the unemployed, others represented the normal growth of the labor force. The rest came as the result of intensified recruiting efforts during the spring and summer months.

We must not only keep these millions of workers in war production but must somehow also find more to make the guns and tanks and planes that will be necessary to supply our own armed forces and those of our allies in the months to come. There lies one of our manpower troubles.

It is not that we do not have enough people to do the job.

The problem is to have the right people in the right places in the right numbers at the right time.

We have to face facts — realistically, without fear or favor.
And as new factories come into operation we must find additional millions of workers. This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.
FOURTH DRAFT

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In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them— and we must face this fact realistically.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First: to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies.

Second: to man our war industries, with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and munitions for our own forces and those of our fighting Allies.

In order to do this, no shall be compelled to stay as a matter of personal preference.

Employers workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of war, personal choice.

To prevent employers from unsafe competition for labor skilled or unskilled— from each other.

To use women, and wherever possible to replace men of military age, and fitness, to train new personnel for essential war work.

To labor from non-essential activities to war.
In still another place -- a dairy community -- where almost every high school child knew how to milk a cow or run a tractor -- the herds were kept going by community cooperation which enabled the farmers to maintain their full supply of much needed food.

American ingenuity in working out these programs will, I hope, keep our production of food products up to the highest possible point. We need all we can grow, not only for ourselves but to keep our gallant allies in health and in strength.

I am therefore asking that the educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. Such work will be a distinet service to the nation. In almost all such work will do no harm whatever to the students themselves, and will add to their knowledge. Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to our safety and the safety of the countries which are fighting side by side with us. We expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the
same time, we look for his and the people in his community to use
ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out crops, and livestock and
dairy products.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately
to help solve the manpower problem.

People should work as near their homes as possible.

- arc must exhaust the local labor supply before looking elsewhere for

workers. This Government cannot afford to transport a single worker
into an area where there is already a worker available to perform the job.

It just doesn't make sense for an employer to go a thousand miles to
pirate workers from another plant when there are unemployed workers in
his own community looking for work.

Traditions, practices and prejudices which interfere with this
principle must be abandoned.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In
others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a
certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or
skill.

We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices and
caprices. It is a part of the logic of history that we must change.
FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

Some of our own intolerance and prejudice in order to win a war against these very evils.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which he could do better. He naturally wants to know the answers to these questions and he can get them in almost every case, by going to the United States Employment Service office in his own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them in the war effort.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort—however well intentioned and well coordinated—will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. I do not believe that the American people would shrink from that.

After all, it is not a new principle. It was adopted two years ago in the Selective Service Law.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is a member of Selective Service, not by law but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.
FOURTH DRAFT

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The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week.

On that day, 16,366,698 men [between the ages of 21 and 36] were registered at more than 125,000 registration places by over a million volunteer workers.

Now, after two years, the Selective Service System has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers serving without compensation.

In the process of selecting men for service in the armed forces, the local boards make the decision regarding their neighbors who are registered.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens, who are serving without compensation as members of local boards, appeal boards and advisory boards, as medical and dental examiners, and as government appeal agents for the unselfish service they render – for the long hours they labor – for the criticism they must endure. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens, serve to give us
FOURTH DRAFT

I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to lower the present twenty year minimum age limit for selective service down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. It is training which, in battle, will save many, many lives in comparison with casualties always suffered by units composed of inadequately trained men.

In order to make the most effective use of manpower, and particularly young manpower, I am issuing instructions to all Federal civilian agencies immediately to release every young man suitable for war service. Here in Washington and in government offices throughout the United States there are capable, able men who have been held at their desks by their superiors -- many against their own will -- under so-called certificates of indispensability. These certificates will be revoked, so that the local draft boards may exercise their own discre-
tion in each individual case as they do in all other cases.

I hope that the Governors of the respective states will issue
similar instructions for the agencies in their own states.

There are also in Washington and in other cities of the country,
many army and navy officers young enough for service in the field at
home and abroad. Most of these men, I know, would prefer to be with
troops or ships. I am asking the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the
Navy to scrutinize most carefully the list of officers stationed in the
various cities, who could be replaced by older men without substantial
loss of efficiency, so that every younger officer can undertake field duty.

In the event of some unique training or qualifications, exceptions
may be made to these directives, but our objective must be to replace
immediately all young civilians and officers with older men, or, where
possible, with women.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well
manned and well equipped, their effectiveness will depend upon the
quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on
which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being
dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the
press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee,

once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best
generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That
seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the armchair strategists is that, while they
may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much in-
formation about the real facts of the situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in
this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are
arrived at in the military and naval staffs of war forces which exist in
each country. In our case, it is in the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy

which is constantly in session. The head of this staff are

Admiral Leahy, General Marshall,

Admiral King and General Arnold. Americans can have full confidence in

those men. They meet regularly with representatives of the British

and other nations working in the common cause.
FOURTH DRAFT

It is a simple fact that since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, who are all trained in the profession of arms, air, sea, and land from their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

While we would not presume to tell Russia or China how to conduct the magnificent defense which they have carried on so successfully, I can say that the other United Nations are giving both to Russia and China every material assistance which it is possible to deliver to them. That assistance will be increased — enormously increased — as our means of transportation are improved.

It is going to be vitally important of great assistance to Russia and to China to divert enemy forces now attacking them to other theatres of war through the conduct of new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, or when, or where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.

While I was away, the Congress of the United States discussed the problem which I had raised on September seventh — action to keep the cost of living from going up through the roof. I am glad, and the Nation
As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China.
I have accordingly instructed that the necessary steps be taken to simplify and standardize production of the articles of common use which go into the cost of living. A limited time will be allowed however for the disposal of existing stocks of supply. I am sure that the result of this action will be to lower the price of all these commodities.

There is one way today, in which every man woman and child can help production. That is by assisting in the various salvage drives for critical materials. There is one drive now in progress for metal scrap. Everybody knows what this scrap means in terms of weapons of offensive warfare for us. I urge every one of you to give every ounce of scrap you can find. I am directing all federal agencies and departments to cooperate in this effort by contributing metal fences, statues, ornaments and articles of all kinds except those which are definitely needed for protection or are of unique historical interest.

For the sake of a sound future economy for the Nation, and in order to prevent spiralling in the cost of living — and to keep down the post-war debt, it is very necessary that we pay in cash for as much of the cost of this war as we can at the present time. That is why the Congress is now occupied with a very large and extremely important tax bill which is going to hit every pocketbook in America. As we look
at the figures in this tax bill, we should remember that while we are trying to take in in cash about thirty billion dollars a year in taxes, the total income of the people of the United States has gone up in the past year from about seventy billion dollars to over one hundred billion dollars.
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 150,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes seven miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, or Arizona, or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but most of us have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — we're all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win — and don't let anyone tell you anything different.
That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. And if the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort over seas to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other
Meanwhile, not only to suppress revolt but also to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

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greatly to the efficiency of the trip. I was able to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories, but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes, I had not thoroughly visualised our American war effort. Of course I saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive. I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with men and women who are making our guns and planes and tanks and ships.

Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines — all these form our vast army of production. Much of this army is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is adventuring into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.
The United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are definitely getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men have come forward and are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour, in the performance of their dangerous duty, in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

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torpedoed. There have been many comparable acts of bravery by our merchant seamen, and there will be many more before the rattlesnakes of the seas have been exterminated.

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As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed particularly by the large proportion of women employed — not just doing office work, but doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and so many of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion is bound to increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in most of our airplane plants.

I had some amusing experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger in the gentler sex. On my trips to many plants I and the members of my party noticed that when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of
workers and machines the first people to look up and stop work were
the men — and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to
their jobs while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in
the gray hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers
on our production lines — and coupling these first hand observations
with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance of
our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are
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labor have together achieved more in a few months than our enemies
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To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers
to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into
operation we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of
manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country
to do the job. The problem is to have the right people in the right
places in the right numbers at the right time.
In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them — and we must face this fact realistically.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First: to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory in the field over our enemies.

Second: to man our war industries and farms with the workers, skilled and unskilled, needed to produce the arms and ammunitions and food for our own forces and those of our fighting Allies.

In order to do this we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor — skilled or unskilled — from each other; to use women, and even grown boys and girls wherever possible and reasonable; to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.
FIFTH DRAFT

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

The educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. Such work will do no harm whatever to the students themselves; and will appeal to nearly all of them as a chance to give real help in a practical way.

People should work in factories as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities employers dislike to employ women. In others they are slow to hire negroes. In still others, men beyond a certain age are not wanted regardless of their health, ability or skill. We can no longer afford to indulge such out-worn prejudices.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing essential work or whether there may not be something needed more which he could do better. He can get the answers to these questions in almost every case by going to the United States Employment Service office in his own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the
his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intentioned and well coordinated — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of drastic legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week. On that day, more than 16,000,000 men were registered.

Now, after two years, the Selective Service System has a trained and experienced organization that extends into every community in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large majority of whom are volunteer workers serving without compensation.
FIFTH DRAFT

- 1d -

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to these fellow citizens. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens, serve to give us confidence that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks — in doing the neighborly things which make for real national unity and real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.
I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to lower the present twenty year minimum age limit for Selective Service down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of the parents of boys of eighteen or nineteen or any higher age. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

Granted that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained, their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and on the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being dictated by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee,
once remarked on the tragic fact that apparently in the war of his day
all the best generals were working on newspapers instead of in the Army.
That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while
they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much
information about the real facts of the situation.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in
this war to the military leaders who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United Nations are
made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session
in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General
Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer
regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with repre-
sentatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British
Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January,
there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of
who are trained in the profession of arms — air, sea and land — from
their earliest years. Mr. Churchill and I have at all times also been in
substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.
As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, or when, or where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.
We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian
who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tol-
erance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for
the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far
distant from their own America. They are fighting to defend and to
extend and to perpetuate the principles which have flourished in this
new world of freedom.

That is why our planning is not merely a matter of sticking
pins into military maps -- studying coast lines and mountain passes,
valleys and islands. Our plans constantly take account of the human
element -- all the countless millions of people whose future liberty
and whose very lives depend upon victory for the United Nations.

It is useless to win battles if the cause for which those
battles were fought is lost.

We are therefore planning for the reconstruction -- the
rehabilitation -- the revival of faith and hope throughout the world
which must follow this war. We are planning carefully and definitely
to ensure that there will be real freedom from want and from fear.

We are planning to remove the essential evils which created this war
and create all wars.
There are a few in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more, that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again must we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization, the maintenance of law and order, and peace, can jolly well take care of themselves insofar as we are concerned.

But we shall reject this false counsel. We have learned that our own homes, our own institutions, could have been destroyed by the fires which burned in London, and Stalingrad, and Rotterdam, and Barcelona, and Nanking.

The vast majority of Americans are together in proclaiming that we shall make sure that our grandchildren will not have to live under the constant threat of this same oppression and horror.
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that we shall make sure that our grandchildren will not have to live
under the constant threat of this same oppression and horror.
They are the men who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell America that we are safe once more. Her age can tell the rest of the world how strong is the future. Can she not well care for itself as far as we are concerned? But Americans have learned a good many facts in the last few years and most of them will agree with me when I say:

"I do not want my grandchildren to have to go through that horror all over again in 1962."
As a proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions. It is an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world, who have or who seek independence, and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

There are a few in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more, that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again must we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization, the maintenance of law and order and peace outside our borders, can jolly well take care of themselves insofar as we are concerned.
FIFTH DRAFT

However, modern war has taught us that armed aggressors could attack the United States or this Hemisphere and that in such a case Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Lima might be bombed and fired instead of London, Stalingrad, Rotterdam, Warsaw, or Chungking.

The objective of today, therefore, is clear and realistic. It is to destroy the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that that threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow up and live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and violent death.
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors; some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes thousands of miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania, Montana, or

A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but most of us have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — we’re all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win — and don’t let anyone tell you anything different.
That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort over seas to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them — at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves." They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those in other
nations — even our own — whose words and deeds are advertised
from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity. At times one cannot
have been able to create the fear that if they stepped forth and
blew a trumpet, the walls of Jericho would immediately fall down.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the
commom sense of the common people — and that has prevailed in
Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now
turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda
machine is on the defensive. 

They are beginning to apologise to
their own people for the [stoppage] of the vast-Nazi forces at
Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering.
They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their
weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time,
that Germany can be [adequately] fed only at the cost of stealing food
from the rest of Europe [right up to the point of starvation].

They are proclaiming that a second front is [an obvious]
but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing
troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from
the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern
Mediterranean.
Meanwhile, [not only to suppress revolt but also] to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi generals increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those leaders who are responsible for the innumerable and unspeakable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated, and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

Our aim is the enforcement of justice for the victims of aggression, and punishment for the perpetrators of aggression. This is not only an expression of governmental policy, but also the sentiment of our people.

When we speak of justice — of equity — of freedom and decency — we are not merely expressing pious hope. We are expressing the profound faith which inspires and directs our actions in this war and in the peace which is to follow.
FIFTH DRAFT

Em proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions — an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world who have or who seek independence and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

We are now training millions of Americans in camps, in training stations, in factories and in shipyards. Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander in Chief must know the answers to these questions. He cannot learn them fully by sitting in Washington day after day, reading statistical reports. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, and interviews with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took added very
greatly to the efficiency of the task I was able to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time meeting the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants with my own eyes, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course I saw only a small portion of all the plants throughout the nation, but that portion was representative and deeply impressive, I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

I saw much of the manufacture of the equipment which is going to our own armed forces and to our Allies. I saw and talked with men and women who are making our guns and planes and tanks and ships. Management and workers — engineers and chemists and craftsmen of all kinds — the men and women who produce the raw materials on farms and in mines — all these form our vast army of production. Much of this army is, in a very real sense, an American Expeditionary Force, for our industry is adventuring into fields far removed from its normal peacetime pursuits.
The United States has been at war for only ten months and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the physical problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour, so in the performance of their dangerous duty in order that arms and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Distinguished Service Medal to a young man who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been
workers and machines the first people to look up and stop work were
the men — and not the women. The women seemed to be sticking to
their jobs while the men were arguing as to whether that fellow in
the uniform was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers
on our production lines — and coupling these first hand observations
with shipping figures and with the reports of actual performance of
our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are
going ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

American engineering genius, American management, and American
labor have together achieved more in a few months than our enemies
achieved in all their years of concentrated preparation for total war.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers
to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into
operation we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of
manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country
to do the job. The problem is to have the right people in the right
places [in the right numbers] at the right time.
In the past we have been blessed with an abundance of material resources and an abundant supply of people. It is not very surprising that we have not learned to conserve them. It is a new experience for us to have to ration them — and we must face this fact realistically.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our forces in the achievement of victory in the field over our enemies in combat.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food for our own forces and those of our fighting Allies. Required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use women, and even grown boys and girls wherever possible and reasonable; to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.
There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately to help meet the manpower problem.

School

The educational authorities in all the states, together with the Manpower Commission, work out plans to enable our high school students to take necessary time from their school year and to use their summer vacations to help farmers raise and harvest their crops for the duration of the war. Such work will do no harm to the students, themselves; and will appeal to nearly all of them as a chance to give real help in a practical way.

People should work in factories as near their homes as possible.

We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are averse to hire Negroes. In still others, men are not wanted, regardless of their skill, health, ability or.

Every patriotic citizen wants to know whether he is doing what essential work or whether there may not be something more which he could do better. He can get the answers to these questions in almost every case by going to the United States Employment Service office in his own community. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #10

This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students an opportunity to contribute to the war effort.

Give some of their time to the war effort.
FIFTH DRAFT

- 12 -

Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system.

This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen
where his skills and labor are needed most, and to refer him to an em-
ployer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is
the scarcity of farm labor. In many sections of the country this is
a serious fact. I have seen many evidences of the fact that the
people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, an abundant crop was har-
vested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four
days.

In another community of fruit growers on the West Coast, the
usual Japanese labor was, of course, not available; but when the fruit
ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the
druggist, the local editor, his reporter—and his printer—and in fact
every able-bodied man and woman in the nearby small town left their
occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his produc-
tion is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation
as essential to our safety. The American people expect him to keep
his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort
to help him to get labor, but, at the same time, he and the people in
his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to turn out
produce, and livestock and dairy products.

It may well be that all of our volunteer effort — however
well intentioned and well coordinated — will not suffice to solve the
problem. In that case, we shall have to consider the adoption of
some legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the
American people will shrink from it.

In a sense every American, because of his citizenship, is
subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege
of being a part of our Nation.

The carrying out of the Army Selective Service Law began with
the first registration on October 16, 1940, just two years ago this week.
On that day, more than 16,000,000 men were registered.

Now, after two years, the Selective Service System has a
trained and experienced organization that extends into every community
in the country, and numbers more than 200,000 citizens, the large
majority of whom are volunteer workers serving without compensation.
The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to these citizen-soldiers. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens, serve to give us confidence that, if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks. In doing the neighborly things which make for real national unity and real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of shock troops. That means divisions of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-one or twenty-two is almost of necessity a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-one or thirty-two. The more of such shock troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.
Therefore I believe I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to lower the present twenty year minimum age limit for selective service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feelings of those parents whose sons have entered the armed forces of ages of eighteen or nineteen or any higher age. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know — again, from what I have seen with my own eyes — that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. Such training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men. And we will never fail to provide for the physical needs of our officers and men. We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, well equipped, well trained, and their effectiveness will depend upon the quality of their leadership and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided and altered by the armchair strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American generals, Robert E. Lee,
As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them — on which we have all agreed — relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, or where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.
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this battles [were fought] is lost. It is useless to win battles unless
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for the rehabilitation — the revival of faith and hope throughout the world
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to ensure that there will be real freedom from want and from fear.

We are planning to remove the essential evils which created this war.
As a proof of our good faith, we and the British are fulfilling the pledge, made over a year ago, to relinquish all extraterritorial privileges in China, and thus to make complete the recognition of the dignity and independence of the Chinese Republic. This is an earnest of the integrity of our intentions. It is an earnest that will not be lost on all the peoples of the world, who have or who seek independence, and who have demonstrated their willingness to fight for their own freedom against the Axis aggressors.

There are a few in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization, the maintenance of law and order and peace outside our borders, can jolly well take care of themselves insofar as we are concerned.
However, modern war has taught us that armed aggressors in this hemisphere are vulnerable and could attack the United States or this Hemisphere and that in such a case Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Atlantic, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Lima might be bombed and fired instead of London, Stalingrad, Rotterdam, Warsaw, or Berlin.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction and violent death.

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The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of 130,000,000 free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part
in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material
cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at whatever points on the earth's surface we select for attack.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense if prevailed in Britain, in Russia, in China and in our own country.
The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. The Nazis are beginning to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.
Meanwhile, to hide the failure of their announced plans for a quick victory in conquering the world, the Nazi gangsters they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?
The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers, talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But, having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.
In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago -- more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.
In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man -- Edward F. Cheney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania -- who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery before the ratlines and kee of the seas have been exterminated.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South.
In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work -- management and labor alike -- on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up and stop
of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems
of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add etc.
work were the men -- and not the women. The women seemed to be
sticking to their jobs, while the men were arguing as to whether
that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on
our production lines -- and coupling these firsthand observations
with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the
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of our enemies in the battle of production.

To bring this about, we have had to add millions of workers
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It is not that we do not have enough people in this country
to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the
right people in the right places at the right time.
We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First; to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second; to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.
There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.
Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are 4,500 of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labors are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited, a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.
In another community of fruit growers on the west coast, the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, the printer, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people in his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.
It may be that all of our volunteer effort -- however well intentioned and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense, every American, because of his citizenship, is subject to Selective Service, not by law, but by reason of the privilege of being a part of our Nation.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome
and always anonymous tasks. In doing these important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.

Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.
I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment, and medical care. Good training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, and well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.
I can say one thing about our plans: They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army. That seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of brilliant ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the actual facts of military operations.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the major decisions in this war to the military leaders, who are in possession of the facts.

The military and naval decisions of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They
meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea and land -- from their earliest years. As Commander-in-Chief Churchill and I have at all times also been in substantial agreement with the recommendations of these Combined Staffs.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed -- relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.
We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous
Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain
opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect
for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the
oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands
far distant from their own America. They are fighting to
including ourselves
save for all mankind the principles which have flourished in
this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose
future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent
victory for the United Nations.

But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we
fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win battles
unless they stay won.
We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world, which must follow this war.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan; that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow, and live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, and slavery and death.
Fireside Chat
10-12-42
1. Express your thanks to the press, radio, newsreel and newspaper photographers for their magnificent performance in delaying publication of news about the trip until it was over and the President had returned to Washington. Point out that you were accompanied by representatives of the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service who were given complete freedom throughout the trip and that four Navy photographers made news pictures of the entire tour, still photographs and motion pictures for all newsreels, news photo syndicates, and all newspapers.

(a) Explain and emphasize that there has been no suppression of news — only DELAYED PUBLICATION — for obvious and well understood reasons. Please point out also the reasons why it is a physical impossibility for the President to make a trip similar to that just ended and, at the same time, be accompanied by some 70 to 80 newspaper men, radio men, newsreel men, newspaper photographers, etc.

(b) Say it is your opinion that the newspaper publishers, editors and radio operators, however anxious they may be for prompt publication of news, do not want information at a time when its publication might very easily cause injury to or jeopardize the life of a single soldier or sailor in the Armed Forces, or others in positions of command.

2. Impressions of trip.

(a) Political
(b) Labor
(c) Management
(d) War spirit
(e) Morale
(f) Women workers
(g) Agriculture — Garner, Uvalde.
(h) Reactions to rationing — rubber, gas, and meat rationing, if that becomes necessary.

3. Express hope that you will be able to make a similar tour next Spring, visiting sections of the country not covered by this trip.

4. Trip data.

(a) Left Washington, Thursday evening, September 17th. Returned to Washington, Thursday noon, October 1st — nearly 15 days.

(b) Railroad mileage — 6,396.5 miles
   Automobile mileage — 358 miles
(c) Members of the party:

The President
Mrs. Roosevelt & Miss Thompson (to Chicago only)
Donald Nelson (to Detroit only)
Stephen T. Early
Admiral Ross T. McIntire
Captain John McCrea
Major Henry Hooker
Miss Laura Delano
Miss Margaret Suckley
Miss Grace G. Tully
Mrs. Dorothy Brady
Lt. George Fox
Dewey Long
rao Frank Terry

Ensign Chas. Barry
Secret Service Agents.
Three newspapermen, representing the AP, UP, and INS

Mr. and Mrs. John Boettiger met the party at Athol, Idaho, and remained with the party until San Diego, California, Friday evening, September 25th.
The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice. We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blaze of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers — talking and posing with all the politicians of the land. But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics. I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time. We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower. The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are: First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat. Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war. In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another; to make it impossible for us to move men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities. The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries.

It may be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intended and well administered — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.
The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Board. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem. And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civil defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying selfless devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important, neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties. Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is — and how important to the speeding up of victory. I am very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling — and so has my wife.
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
OCTOBER 12, 1942

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us
are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.
With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them — at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent;
they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors;
they have aided and abetted those people in other nations --
even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from
Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda
is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense
is prevailing.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is
now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi
propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to
apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast
forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they
are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked
people to rally their weakened production. They even
publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be
fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of
Europe.
They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.
There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are these millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity.
And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.

I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago -- more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.
We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our Merchant Marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the First Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man — Edward F. Cheney of Yeadon, Pennsylvania — who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery.
In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the Northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work -- management and labor alike -- on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed -- doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.
I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity -- inquisitiveness -- is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were the men -- and not the women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines -- and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts -- I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.

Of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.
The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right members of the right people in the right places at the right time.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.
The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

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We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian — Christopher Columbus — who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.
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We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.
EXCERPTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S OCTOBER 12, 1942 SPEECH FOR NEWSREELS.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice. We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

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It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right number of the right people in the right places at the right time. We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower. The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are: First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat. Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war. In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from stealing labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonable, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities. The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries.

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It may be that all of our voluntary effort -- however well intended and well administered -- will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

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The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service System and the way it has been accepted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem. And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense -- and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often tiresome and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties. Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory. I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Radio Address
Of the
President
October 12, 1942
At
10:00 PM EWT

STATEMENTS FILE
MY DEAR AMERICA:

As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes, five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific — and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how — each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities — we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win — and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country — unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. But that is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas — to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hites them — at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves." They
have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Columns everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations — even our own — whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people — and that defense is prevailing.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rely on their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of those criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations will not make reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are those millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington — what is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalk, with batteries of reporters and photographers — talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And — I might add — it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.
I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualized our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

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As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed — doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

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So having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.
And of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping-up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the Nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

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In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

And in another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations, went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people of his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

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Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

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Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.

I want every father and every mother who has a son in the service to know -- again, from what I have seen with my own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are receiving today the best possible training, equipment and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains of our armed services.

Good training will save many, many lives in battle. The highest rate of casualties is always suffered by units comprised of inadequately trained men.

We can be sure that the combat units of our Army and Navy are well manned, well equipped, and well trained. Their effectiveness in action will depend upon the quality of their leadership, and upon the wisdom of the strategic plans on which all military operations are based.

I can say one thing about our plans. They are not being decided by the typewriter strategists who expound their views in the press or on the radio.

One of the greatest of American soldiers, Robert E. Lee, once remarked on the tragic fact that in the war of his day all the best generals were apparently working on newspapers instead of in the Army, and that seems to be true in all wars.

The trouble with the typewriter strategists is that, while they may be full of bright ideas, they are not in possession of much information about the facts or problems of military operations.

We, therefore, will continue to leave the plans for this war to the military leaders.

The military and naval plans of the United States are made by the Joint Staff of the Army and Navy which is constantly in session in Washington. The Chiefs of this Staff are Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. They meet and confer regularly with representatives of the British Joint Staff, and with representatives of Russia, China, the Netherlands, Poland, Norway, the British Dominions and other nations working in the common cause.

Since this unity of operations was put into effect last January, there has been a very substantial agreement between these planners, all of whom are trained in the profession of arms -- air, sea and land -- from their early years. As Commander-in-Chief I have at all times also been in substantial agreement.

As I have said before, many major decisions of strategy have been made. One of them -- on which we have all agreed -- relates to the necessity of diverting enemy forces from Russia and China to other theatres of war by new offensives against Germany and Japan. An announcement of how these offensives are to be launched, and when, and where, cannot be broadcast over the radio at this time.
We celebrate today the exploit of a bold and adventurous Italian -- Christopher Columbus -- who with the aid of Spain opened up a new world where freedom and tolerance and respect for human rights and dignity provided an asylum for the oppressed of the old world.

Today, the sons of the new world are fighting in lands far distant from their own America. They are fighting to save for all mankind, including ourselves, the principles which have flourished in this new world of freedom.

We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stow in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.

But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.
HOLD FOR RELEASE
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October 12, 1942

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 o'clock P.M., E.W.T., Monday, October 12, 1942. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
OCTOBER 12, 1942

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The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly news. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us
are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have come along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.
With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at additional places on the earth's surface.

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It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a blare of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalks, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

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war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.
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As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed — doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.
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Therefore, I believe that it will be necessary to lower the present minimum age limit for Selective Service from twenty years down to eighteen. We have learned how inevitable that is -- and how important to the speeding up of victory.

I can very thoroughly understand the feeling of all parents whose sons have entered our armed forces. I have an appreciation of that feeling -- and so has my wife.
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own eyes -- that the men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps
are receiving today the best possible training, equipment
and medical care. And we will never fail to provide for the
spiritual needs of our officers and men under the Chaplains
of our armed services.

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We are mindful of the countless millions of people whose future liberty and whose very lives depend upon permanent victory for the United Nations.

There are a few people in this country who, when the collapse of the Axis begins, will tell our people that we are safe once more; that we can tell the rest of the world to "stew in its own juice"; that never again will we help to pull "the other fellow's chestnuts from the fire"; that the future of civilization can jolly well take care of itself insofar as we are concerned.
But it is useless to win battles if the cause for which we fought these battles is lost. It is useless to win a war unless it stays won.

We, therefore, fight for the restoration and perpetuation of faith and hope throughout the world.

The objective of today is clear and realistic. It is to destroy completely the military power of Germany, Italy and Japan to such good purpose that their threat against us and all the other United Nations cannot be revived a generation hence.

We are united in seeking the kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives, free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death.
As you know, I have recently come back from a trip of inspection of camps and training stations and war factories.

The main thing that I observed on this trip is not exactly new. It is the plain fact that the American people are united as never before in their determination to do a job and to do it well.

This whole nation of one hundred and thirty million free men and women and children is becoming one great fighting force. Some of us are soldiers or sailors, some of us are civilians. Some of us are fighting the war in airplanes five miles above the continent of Europe or the islands of the Pacific -- and some of us are fighting it in mines deep down in the earth of Pennsylvania or Montana. A few of us are decorated with medals for heroic achievement, but all of us can have that deep and permanent inner satisfaction that comes from doing the best we know how -- each of us playing an honorable part in the great struggle to save our democratic civilization.

Whatever our individual circumstances or opportunities -- we are all in it, and our spirit is good, and we Americans and our allies are going to win -- and do not let anyone tell you anything different.

That is the main thing that I saw on my trip around the country -- unbeatable spirit. If the leaders of Germany and Japan could have been along with me, and had seen what I saw, they would agree with my conclusions. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip with me. That is one reason why we are carrying our war effort overseas -- to them.

With every passing week the war increases in scope and intensity. That is true in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and on all the seas.

The strength of the United Nations is on the up-grade in this war. The Axis leaders, on the other hand, know by now that they have already reached their full strength, and that their steadily mounting losses in men and material cannot be fully replaced. Germany and Japan are already realizing what the inevitable result will be when the total strength of the United Nations hits them -- at additional places on the earth's surface.

One of the principal weapons of our enemies in the past has been their use of what is called "The War of Nerves". They
have spread falsehood and terror; they have started Fifth Column everywhere; they have duped the innocent; they have fomented suspicion and hate between neighbors; they have aided and abetted those people in other nations -- even our own -- whose words and deeds are advertised from Berlin and Tokyo as proof of disunity.

The greatest defense against all such propaganda is the common sense of the common people -- and that defense is prevailing.

The "War of Nerves" against the United Nations is now turning into a boomerang. For the first time, the Nazi propaganda machine is on the defensive. They begin to apologize to their own people for the repulse of their vast forces at Stalingrad, and for the enormous casualties they are suffering. They are compelled to beg their overworked people to rally their weakened production. They even publicly admit, for the first time, that Germany can be fed only at the cost of stealing food from the rest of Europe.

They are proclaiming that a second front is impossible; but, at the same time, they are desperately rushing troops in all directions, and stringing barbed wire all the way from the coasts of Finland and Norway to the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, they are driven to increase the fury of their atrocities.

The United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of those criminal deeds is committed, it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being reluctantly piled up for the future purposes of justice.

We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ring leaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law.

There are now millions of Americans in army camps, in naval stations, in factories and in shipyards.

Who are those millions upon whom the life of our country depends? What are they thinking? What are their doubts and what are their hopes? And how is the work progressing?

The Commander-in-Chief cannot learn all of the answers to these questions in Washington. That is why I made the trip I did.

It is very easy to say, as some have said, that when the President travels through the country he should go with a bale of trumpets, with crowds on the sidewalk, with batteries of reporters and photographers -- talking and posing with all the politicians of the land.

But having had some experience in this war and in the last war, I can tell you very simply that the kind of trip I took permitted me to concentrate on the work I had to do without expending time, meeting all the demands of publicity. And -- I might add -- it was a particular pleasure to make a tour of the country without having to give a single thought to politics.
I expect to make other trips for similar purposes, and I shall make them in the same way.

In the last war, I had seen great factories; but until I saw some of the new present day plants, I had not thoroughly visualised our American war effort. Of course, I saw only a small portion of all our plants, but that portion was a good cross section, and it was deeply impressive.

The United States has been at war for only ten months, and is engaged in the enormous task of multiplying its armed forces many times. We are by no means at full production level yet. But I could not help asking myself on the trip, where would we be today if the Government of the United States had not begun to build many of its factories for this huge increase more than two years ago — more than a year before war was forced upon us at Pearl Harbor.

We have also had to face the problem of shipping. Ships in every part of the world continue to be sunk by enemy action. But the total tonnage of ships coming out of American, Canadian and British shipyards, day by day, has increased so fast that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the bitter battle of transportation.

In expanding our shipping, we have had to enlist many thousands of men for our merchant marine. These men are serving magnificently. They are risking their lives every hour so that guns and tanks and planes and ammunition and food may be carried to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and to all the United Nations' forces all over the world.

A few days ago I awarded the first Maritime Distinguished Service Medal to a young man — Edward P. Cheney of Lebanon, Pennsylvania — who had shown great gallantry in rescuing his comrades from the oily waters of the sea after their ship had been torpedoed. There will be many more such acts of bravery.

In one sense my recent trip was a hurried one, out through the Middle West, to the northwest, down the length of the Pacific Coast and back through the Southwest and the South. In another sense, however, it was a leisurely trip, because I had the opportunity to talk to the people who are actually doing the work — management and labor alike — on their own home grounds. It gave me a fine chance to do some thinking about the major problems of our war effort on the basis of first things first.

As I told the three press association representatives who accompanied me, I was impressed by the large proportion of women employed — doing skilled manual work running machines. As time goes on, and many more of our men enter the armed forces, this proportion will increase. Within less than a year from now, there will probably be as many women as men working in our war production plants.

I had some enlightening experiences relating to the old saying of us men that curiosity — inquisitiveness — is stronger among women. I noticed that, frequently, when we drove unannounced down the middle of a great plant full of workers and machines, the first people to look up from their work were the men — and not the women. It was chiefly the men who were arguing as to whether that fellow in the straw hat was really the President or not.

Having seen the quality of the work and of the workers on our production lines — and coupling these firsthand observations with the reports of actual performance of our weapons on the fighting fronts — I can say to you that we are getting ahead of our enemies in the battle of production.
Of great importance to our future production was the effective and rapid manner in which the Congress met the serious problem of the rising cost of living. It was a splendid example of the operation of democratic processes in wartime.

The machinery to carry out this act of the Congress was put into effect within twelve hours after the bill was signed. The legislation will help the cost-of-living problems of every worker in every factory and on every farm in the land.

In order to keep stepping up our production, we have had to add millions of workers to the total labor force of the nation. And as new factories come into operation, we must find additional millions of workers.

This presents a formidable problem in the mobilization of manpower.

It is not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job. The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right places at the right time.

We are learning to ration materials; and we must now learn to ration manpower.

The major objectives of a sound manpower policy are:

First, to select and train men of the highest fighting efficiency needed for our armed forces in the achievement of victory over our enemies in combat.

Second, to man our war industries and farms with the workers needed to produce the arms and munitions and food required by ourselves and our fighting allies to win this war.

In order to do this, we shall be compelled to stop workers from moving from one war job to another as a matter of personal preference; to stop employers from cutting labor from each other; to use older men, and handicapped people, and more women, and even grown boys and girls, wherever possible and reasonably, to replace men of military age and fitness; to train new personnel for essential war work; and to stop the wastage of labor in all non-essential activities.

There are many other things that we can do, and do immediately, to help meet the manpower problem.

The school authorities in all the states should work out plans to enable our high school students to take some time from their school year, and to use their summer vacations, to help farmers raise and harvest their crops, or to work in the war industries. This does not mean closing schools and stopping education. It does mean giving older students a better opportunity to contribute to the war effort. Such work will do no harm to the students.

People should do their work as near their homes as possible. We cannot afford to transport a single worker into an area where there is already a worker available to do the job.

In some communities, employers dislike to employ women. In others they are reluctant to hire Negroes. In still others, older men are not wanted. We can no longer afford to indulge such prejudices or practices.
Every citizen wants to know what essential war work he can do the best. He can get the answer by applying to the nearest United States Employment Service office. There are four thousand five hundred of these offices throughout the Nation. They are the corner grocery stores of our manpower system. This network of employment offices is prepared to advise every citizen where his skills and labor are needed most, and to refer him to an employer who can utilize them to best advantage in the war effort.

Perhaps the most difficult phase of the manpower problem is the scarcity of farm labor. I have seen many evidences of the fact, however, that the people are trying to meet it as well as possible.

In one community that I visited a perishable crop was harvested by turning out the whole of the high school for three or four days.

In another community of fruit growers the usual Japanese labor was not available; but when the fruit ripened, the banker, the butcher, the lawyer, the garage man, the druggist, the local editor, and in fact every able-bodied man and woman in the town, left their occupations and went out, gathered the fruit, and sent it to market.

Every farmer in the land must realize fully that his production is part of war production, and that he is regarded by the Nation as essential to victory. The American people expect him to keep his production up, and even to increase it. We will use every effort to help him to get labor; but, at the same time, he and the people of his community must use ingenuity and cooperative effort to produce crops, and livestock and dairy products.

It may be that all of our volunteer effort — however well intentioned and well administered — will not suffice to solve the problem. In that case, we shall have to adopt new legislation. If this is necessary, I do not believe that the American people will shrink from it.

In a sense, every American, because of the privilege of his citizenship, is a part of the Selective Service.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the Selective Service Boards. The successful operation of the Selective Service system and the way it has been adopted by the great mass of our citizens give us confidence that if necessary, the same principle could be used to solve any manpower problem.

And I want also to say a word of praise and thanks for the more than ten million people, all over the country, who have volunteered for the work of civilian defense — and who are working hard at it. They are displaying unselfish devotion in the patient performance of their often thankless and always anonymous tasks. In doing this important neighborly work they are helping to fortify our national unity and our real understanding of the fact that we are all involved in this war.

Naturally, on my trip I was most interested in watching the training of our fighting forces.

All of our combat units that go overseas must consist of young, strong men who have had thorough training. A division that has an average age of twenty-three or twenty-four is a better fighting unit than one which has an average age of thirty-three or thirty-four. The more of such troops we have in the field, the sooner the war will be won, and the smaller will be the cost in casualties.
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